

The Fate of the Perpetrator in the Jihadist Modus Operandi: Suicide Attacks and Non-Suicide Attacks in the West, 2004-2017

Author: Teun van Dongen

Suicide attacks have long been considered the hallmark of jihadist terrorism, but the truth is that the increase in the number of jihadist terrorist attacks in the West after about 2011 can be accounted for by increases in different types of terrorist attacks. The number of suicide attacks remains fairly constant throughout the time period that has been examined in this report (2004-2017), but there are strong increases in what one could call self-preserving attacks (attacks in which the perpetrator is trying to survive) and suicidal attacks (attacks in which the perpetrator does not kill himself, but rather tries to get police officers or military personnel to kill him). This dual trend towards suicidal and self-preserving attacks might be related to the increase in the number of lone-actor terrorists, who generally have a preference for weapon types that are easier to acquire and use than the IEDs that are typically used in suicide attacks. As suicidal terrorists will attack security forces and self-preserving attackers will try to escape, the operational response to these kinds of attacks should be different from the response to a suicide attack. It is important that protocols and training scenarios are adjusted to reflect the increases in self-preserving and suicidal attacks.

Introduction

The suicide attack has long been considered the hallmark of jihadist terrorism. Organisations with other ideological goals have committed suicide attacks as well, but many scholars and commentators see jihadists' willingness to kill themselves in their attacks as a feature that sets jihadist terrorism apart from other forms of terrorism.¹ And indeed, some of the deadliest jihadist attacks in the West in recent years have been suicide bombings. The perpetrators of the attacks in Paris in November 2015 gave their lives to take many more with them, as did the suicide bombers in Brussels (March 2016) and Manchester (May 2017).

But while such attacks understandably attract the most attention and thus influence our perception of the terrorist threat, they make up only one part of the attacks that have been carried out in the West in recent years. In fact, over the last years, the modus operandi of jihadist terrorist attacks in the West has become markedly more diverse, and many of the 'new' kinds of attacks are not suicide attacks. For instance, in recent years the vehicle attack has established itself as a modus operandi of choice for Western jihadists. There had been only two vehicle attacks in the West before 2013, a small number compared to the thirteen vehicle attacks in the period of 2013-2017.² A similar trend was demonstrated by Nesser and Stenersen regarding attacks with guns and knives.³ Interestingly, vehicle attacks, stabbings, shootings and other non-suicide attack modes far outnumbered suicide attacks in the West in 2017. There have been 21 jihadist terrorist attacks in the West in the first eleven months of 2017, but only two of these (the Manchester bombing and a vehicle attack with explosives in Paris) were suicide attacks.

Contrary to what one might expect, the year 2017 is part of a trend. The main argument of this study is that non-suicide attacks account for the increase in the overall number of terrorist attacks in the West in recent years. It will make this point essentially by simply counting the numbers of suicide and non-suicide attacks since March 2004. Section 2 will outline the methodology and will explain some of the choices that have been made in the selection of the terrorist attacks that will be counted and analysed. Sections 3 and 4 will present some descriptive statistics regarding the numbers of suicide and non-suicide attacks. In order to do justice to the variety of jihadist attacks, Section 4 will introduce the suicidal attack, a type of attack in which the perpetrator wants to die, but which is still different from the suicide attack. The patterns and trends outlined in Sections 3 and 4 will be tentatively explained in Section 5. The policy implications of the findings will be addressed in Section 6, the final section of this Research Paper.

¹ See for example Martha Crenshaw, "The Debate over 'Old' vs 'New' Terrorism," in *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge: European and American Experiences*, ed. Rik Coolhaet (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 66; Cody Brown, "The New Terrorism Debate," *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 6, no. 3&4 (2007): 36.

² The only two vehicle attacks in Europe, the US and Canada before 2013 occurred in Chapel Hill (US, 2006) and Glasgow (2007). In the period of 2013-2017 jihadists committed vehicle attacks in London (2013), St. Jean-sur-Richelieu (Canada, 2014), Saint-Quentin-Fallavier (France, 2015), Valence (2016), Nice (2016), Columbus (US, 2016), Berlin (2016), London (twice in 2017), Stockholm (2017), Paris (twice in 2017) and Barcelona (2017).

³ Petter Nesser and Anne Stenersen, "The Modus Operandi of Jihadist Terrorists in Europe," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8, no. 6 (2014): 6-7.

1. Case Selection

The first step towards answering the main research question is the compilation of a list of all terrorist attacks in Europe, the United States (US) and Canada in the period from the Madrid bombings to the present.⁴ The Madrid bombings have been chosen as a starting point because they mark the beginning of the current wave of so-called homegrown jihadist terrorism in the West. In previous attacks, most notably of course the 9/11 attacks, the perpetrators attacked foreign countries. It is true that there were many non-Spaniards and several foreign terrorist organisations involved in the Madrid bombings, but the perpetrators also included a group of Spaniards who were willing to attack their own country.⁵

In order to qualify as a terrorist attack, an incident needs to meet certain criteria. First, only acts of violence have been included in the list; foiled attacks have been left out. Nesser, Stenersen and Oftedal rightly point out that including foiled attacks in an analysis of jihadist modus operandi can be helpful, as it allows us to see whether the completed attacks are actually representative of the operational ambitions of the jihadist movement.⁶ Certain types of attack may be more vulnerable to detection, and as a result they may be underrepresented among the attacks that have reached the execution stage. On the other hand, the modus operandi of an attack changes constantly during the planning stage, and sometimes even during the attack, so one can only definitively establish a modus operandi after an attack has been carried out. An example that is particularly relevant with regard to the difference between suicide and non-suicide attacks is the attack in the German town of Ansbach in 2016. The perpetrator, Mohammed Daleel, did not have a suicide attack in mind. Initially, he wanted to place the bomb, detonate it from a distance, film the explosion and intimidate the German general public with the footage of the ensuing mayhem. Moreover, he talked to his IS-handlers about carrying out other attacks later on.⁷ But after he was refused at the entrance of the music festival he originally wanted to target, he detonated the explosive outside of a nearby wine bar, killing himself and wounding twelve.⁸

Second, for an attack to qualify as an act of terrorist violence, it must have been intended “to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target.”⁹ As terrorism is also a form of political violence, those repercussions are intended to bring about a certain political effect. In the case of jihadist terrorists, such effects could include the withdrawal of Western troops from predominantly Muslim countries or the cessation of the perceived slandering of the prophet Muhammad in cartoons and other forms of satire. Another, but much less common, goal could be putting a stop to the Western way of life in general. Attacks for which there is convincing evidence that the perpetrator(s) intended to send a message to coerce or intimidate

⁴ The most recent attack on the list is the IED-attack in London on 15 September 2017. For the full list of attacks, see Appendix I.

⁵ Fernando Reinares, “The Madrid Bombings and Global Jihadism,” *Survival* 52, no. 2 (2010): 83–104.

⁶ Petter Nesser, Anne Stenersen, and Emilie Oftedal, “Jihadi Terrorism in Europe: The IS-Effect,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 10, no. 6 (2016): 4.

⁷ Andreas Ulrich, “Germany Attackers Had Contact with Suspected IS Members,” *Spiegel Online*, August 5, 2016, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/attackers-in-germany-had-contact-with-suspected-is-members-a-1106271.html>.

⁸ Frederik Pleitgen, Tim Hume, and Euan McKirdy, “Suicide Bomber in Germany Pledged Allegiance to ISIS Leader,” *CNN*, July 26, 2016, <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/07/24/world/ansbach-germany-blast/index.html>.

⁹ Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism, Revised & enlarged* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 40.

governments and/or populations into changing their behaviour in ways that contribute to one of these items on the jihadist political agenda, have been added to the list. Statements of allegiance to jihadist organisations or to individual leaders of such organisations have been considered evidence of a jihadist political motive as well, as has praise to jihad in general. Finally, attacks have been included regardless of whether they had the effect the perpetrators wanted. One could argue that an attack in London carried out by one man with a hammer is unlikely to intimidate the population of the United Kingdom (UK) into withdrawing its support for the government's foreign policy in the Middle East. At the same time, the perpetrator's intention may still have been to intimidate for political purposes, and that is what would make this attack an act of terrorism.

Another issue that needs addressing concerns simultaneous attacks. Attacks that have been planned by members of the same cell to be carried out more or less simultaneously, i.e. in a matter of minutes from each other, count as one attack. For instance, the London bombings of 7 July 2005 have been counted as one attack, not as four separate attacks. A series of attacks by the same perpetrator(s), on the other hand, has been counted as separate incidents. For instance, Mohammed Merah's shootings of 11, 15 and 19 March 2012 have been counted as three separate attacks, not as one drawn-out attack. Some researchers, for instance Hegghammer and Nesser¹⁰, have counted Merah's three attacks as one incident, but there were three days between the first and the second attack and between the second and the third attack. This being the case, Merah's attacks lacked the element of simultaneity that was present in the 2005 London bombings. Also, it is hard to see how Merah could have been continuously carrying out an attack during these three-day intervals. He was not shooting at or chasing his targets, so his attacks were separated by time periods during which he must have done something else. He may have prepared himself for his attacks in the time between the shootings, but he was not carrying out attacks the entire time. As Merah went back and forth between attacking and doing other things, his attacks have been considered three separate attacks rather than one attack that lasted nine days. The same logic has been applied to similar cases.

In order to collate a list of terrorist attacks, the current author took full advantage of existing inventories that have been drawn up for other research projects. The chronology appended to Nesser's latest book¹¹ has been of great use, as has the list appended to a recent report by Vidino, Marone and Entenmann.¹² Other lists that have been consulted, have been drawn up by the US General Accountability Office¹³, *The Daily Wire*¹⁴ and Wikipedia.¹⁵ However, it should be noted that not all the attacks on these lists are included in the list in Appendix I. In some cases, attacks have been left out, mostly

¹⁰ See the Excel spreadsheet appended to Thomas Hegghammer and Petter Nesser, "Assessing the Islamic State's Commitment to Attacking the West," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9, no. 4 (2015): 14–30.

¹¹ Petter Nesser, "Appendix: Chronology of Jihadism in Europe 1994–2015," (London: Hurst Publishers, 2015).

¹² Lorenzo Vidino, Francesco Marone, and Eva Entenmann, "Fear Thy Neighbour: Radicalization and Jihadist Attacks in the West," (Milan: ICCT, ISPI and George Washington University, 2017).

¹³ "Countering Violent Extremism: Actions Needed to Define Strategy and Assess Progress of Federal Efforts" (Washington, DC: Government Accounting Office, 2017), 33–34.

¹⁴ James Barrett, "A Complete List of Radical Islamic Terror Attacks on US Soil under Obama," *The Daily Wire*, December 7, 2016, <http://www.dailywire.com/news/11410/complete-list-radical-islamic-terror-attacks-us-james-barrett#>.

¹⁵ The lists on Wikipedia are rarely complete, but always useful. Relevant examples include a list of Muslim extremist attacks in the US

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism_in_the_United_States#Muslim_extremism) and a list of recent Islamic terrorist attacks in Europe

([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism_in_Europe_\(2014%E2%80%93present\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism_in_Europe_(2014%E2%80%93present))).

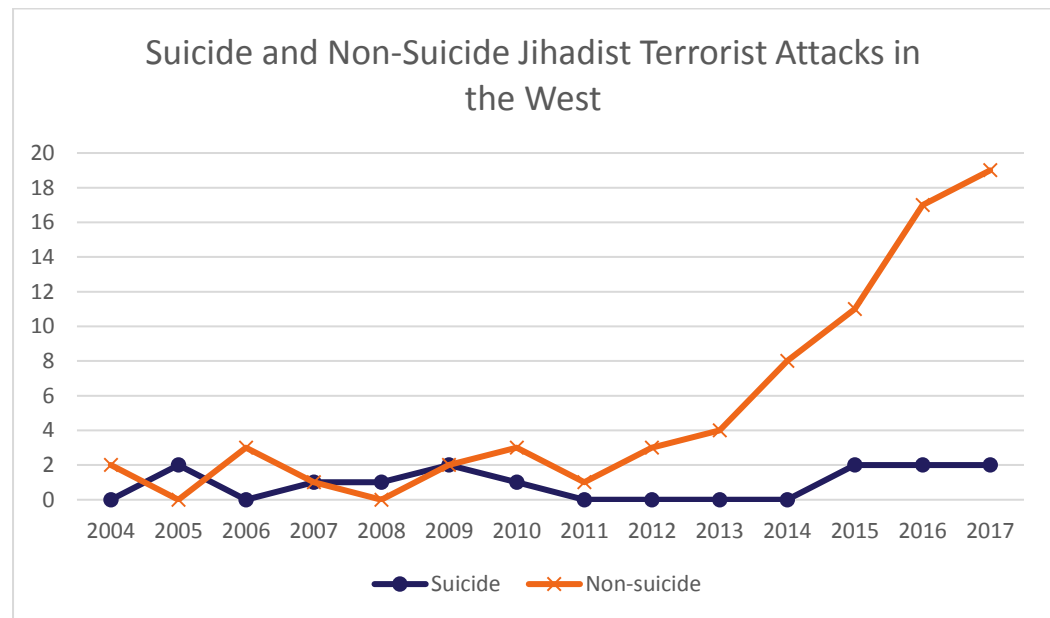
because the political motivation of the perpetrator was not entirely clear. Deciding whether something constitutes a terrorist attack is sometimes a judgement call, so some might argue that attacks that are not on the list should have been included. On a brighter note, there is substantial evidence of the motives behind the attacks that are on the list, so few will dispute that the attacks on the list are indeed terrorist attacks. The information on the attacks and the intentions of the perpetrators has been drawn mostly from online news reports, in most cases by reputable outlets like CNN, the BBC, *The Guardian*, *Der Spiegel*, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. Scholarly accounts and government reports have been used for some of the better-known attacks in the set.

2. Suicide and Non-Suicide Attacks in the West

Before we can delve into the data, there is one more definitional question that needs to be addressed, which is of course: what is a suicide attack? There is more than one answer to that question, but narrowly defined a suicide attack is an attack in which the suicide of the perpetrator and the killing of the victims coincide in the sense that they are the result of the same act of violence.¹⁶ For instance, the explosion that kills a suicide bomber is the same explosion that kills the victims. Another example concerns a terrorist who crashes a car into a building. In such cases, the victims and the perpetrator die in the same car crash.

Of all terrorist attacks in the period from March 2004 to November 2017, thirteen qualify as suicide attacks according to this definition. As graph 1 shows, they are divided quite evenly over the entire time period. The last three years stand out for being the only period with two suicide attacks in consecutive years, but there is no year with more than two suicide attacks. (In fairness, though, the last month of 2017 has not been included in the data.)

¹⁶ This narrow definition of a suicide attack follows the traditional definitions of suicide terrorism that have been put forth by, among others, Boaz Ganor, who points out that a suicide terrorist is “fully aware that if he does not kill himself, the planned attack will not be carried out.” See Boaz Ganor, “The Rationality of the Islamic Radical Suicide Attack Phenomenon,” in *Countering Suicide Terrorism* (Herzliya: International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, 2000), 6–7. Broader definitions of suicide terrorism include the one by Scott Atran, who defines suicide terrorism as “the targeted use of self-destructing humans against noncombatant—typically civilian—populations to effect political change.” See Scott Atran, “Genesis of Suicide Terrorism,” *Science*, *American Association for the Advancement of Science* 299 (2003): 1534. Atran’s definition is narrower in the sense that he mentions a type of target (noncombatants), but broader in the sense that he conflates attacks in which the perpetrator kills himself and attacks in which the perpetrator willingly and knowingly lets himself get killed by security forces. A similarly broad definition is formulated by Ariel Merari, who ascribes to suicide terrorists “the readiness to die in the process of committing a terrorist attack.” See Ariel Merari, “The Readiness to Kill and Die: Suicidal Terrorism in the Middle East,” in *Origins of Terrorism*, ed. Walter Reich (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998), 192. As this paper will later on make a distinction between suicide attacks and suicidal attacks, it has been decided to formulate a narrow definition of a suicide attack.



Graph 1

What is most striking in graph 1 is the trend that begins roughly in the middle of the examined time period. After 2010, the number of non-suicide attacks begins to increase at a faster pace than the number of suicide attacks. The latter increase as well, but only to two per year in 2015, 2016 and 2017. Thus, we end up with two time periods of roughly the same length, but with very different profiles regarding the jihadist modus operandi.

Jihadists committed eighteen terrorist attacks in the West in the first half of the timeframe, i.e. the period of 2004-2010. Of these eighteen attacks, seven (or 39%) were suicide attacks. Five of these seven attacks were suicide bombings, and they were all unsuccessful, with the exception of the bombings of 7 July 2005 in London. A very similar attack two weeks later failed, as the explosives of four perpetrators failed to detonate. Suicide bombers in Exeter (2008), Milan (2009) and Stockholm (2010) failed as well. The best-known non-suicide attacks in the period of 2004-2010 are probably the Van Gogh murder (2004) and the Fort Hood shooting (2009).

The picture that emerges from the period of 2011-2017 is quite different. There is little change in the total number of suicide attacks: six attacks in this timeframe were suicide attacks. What did change is the casualty rate: the suicide bombings in Manchester (2017), Brussels (2016) and Paris (2015) are among the deadliest terrorist attacks on European soil ever. Interestingly, though, they account for a much smaller part of the overall number of jihadist attacks than the suicide attacks in the first timeframe. There have been 69 terrorist attacks in the West in the period of 2011-2017, so the six suicide attacks in this period represent only about 9% of the whole set of attacks, a decrease of 30%. Again, the difference in absolute numbers is insignificant and the number of victims has increased markedly, but the suicide attacks are clearly outnumbered by the non-suicide attacks.

3. Suicide, Suicidal and Self-Preserving Attacks

At first glance, an increase in the number of non-suicide attacks might suggest that, in recent years, there have been more jihadists who tried to survive their attacks than

previously. But is it really that simple? What if we were to consider the perpetrators who do not commit suicide attacks but who still want to die during their attacks? Nidal Hasan, for instance, did not commit a suicide attack in the narrow sense of the term, but he had no intention of surviving the shooting spree he started in November 2009 at the US Army base in Fort Hood, where he worked as a psychiatrist. During the attack, Hasan was shot five times by a soldier who came to the rescue of his colleagues. He was paralysed from the waist down, but he survived. Nevertheless, his attack was in all likelihood a suicide mission. In the months preceding the attack, Hasan had kept up an e-mail correspondence with radical preacher Anwar al-Awlaki. In one of his e-mails, Hasan argued the legitimacy of suicide attacks in the name of Allah, while in another he wrote that he was looking forward to joining Al-Awlaki in the afterlife.¹⁷ More recently, seventeen-year-old Riaz Khan Ahmadzai attacked passengers on a train in Germany with a knife, then jumped out of the train and attacked a passer-by before he was killed during an assault on a group of police officers. In a letter found shortly after the attack, he asked the addressee, presumably his father, to “pray for me that I can get revenge on these non-believers, pray for me that I go to heaven.”¹⁸

Hasan and Ahmadzai did not commit suicide attacks, but rather something that could be called *suicidal* attacks. They did not kill themselves, but they behaved in such a way that the security forces had no choice but to shoot them. Evidently, police shootings do not always result in fatalities, but the two jihadists had wanted this to happen in their cases. In other words, Hasan and Ahmadzai tried to commit the jihadi version of ‘suicide by cop’ (or ‘suicide by police’), a term used for incidents “in which a suicidal individual intentionally engages in life-threatening and criminal behavior with a lethal weapon or what appears to be a lethal weapon toward law enforcement officers or civilians to specifically provoke officers to shoot the suicidal individual in self-defense or to protect civilians.”¹⁹

With this kind of attack behaviour, perpetrators of suicidal attacks pose very different operational challenges than perpetrators who want to survive: the former will seek a confrontation with the security forces, whereas the latter are likely to attempt an escape. Given the importance of these operational differences for counter-terrorism, it is important to know to what extent the increase in non-suicide attacks can be accounted for by suicidal attacks. This, of course, begs yet another methodological question: how does one recognise a suicidal attack?

Ideally, one would have evidence that the perpetrators said they wanted to die during the attack. Hasan and Ahmadzai expressed their desire to die as martyrs quite explicitly, so it is fairly certain that their attacks were suicidal attacks. Unfortunately, however, only

¹⁷ William H. Webster et al., “Final Report of the William H. Webster Commission on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Intelligence and the Events at Fort Hood, Texas on November 5, 2009,” 2012, 57–58; Brian Ross and Rhonda Schwartz, “Major Hasan’s E-Mail: ‘I Can’t Wait to Join You’ in Afterlife,” *ABC News*, November 19, 2009, <http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/major-hasans-mail-wait-join-afterlife/story?id=9130339>.

¹⁸ Paul Wright, “German Train Attack: Riaz Khan Ahmadzai Left Letter Saying Muslims ‘Must Defend Themselves,’” *International Business Times*, July 20, 2016, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/german-train-attack-riaz-khan-ahmadzai-left-letter-saying-muslims-must-defend-themselves-1571681>.

¹⁹ Harold Range Hutson et al., “Suicide by Cop,” *Annals of Emergency Medicine* 32, no. 6 (1998): 665–69. In a recent ICCT Research Paper, Winter makes a similar distinction between suicide attacks and attacks in which a fighter knows he is very likely to die by the hands of his enemy (the ‘inghimasi’ style of attack). See Charlie Winter, “War by Suicide: A Statistical Analysis of the Islamic State’s Martyrdom Industry,” *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 8, no.3 (2017): 4–5. Other, earlier authors who made a distinction along these lines include Robert Pape and Ami Pedahzur. See Robert Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005), 10; Ami Pedahzur, *Suicide Terrorism* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2005), 8.

nine non-suicide terrorists on the list left clear evidence about their intentions in this regard. For the other 65 non-suicide attacks, there was no other option but to deduce the intentions of the perpetrators from their behaviour during the attack.

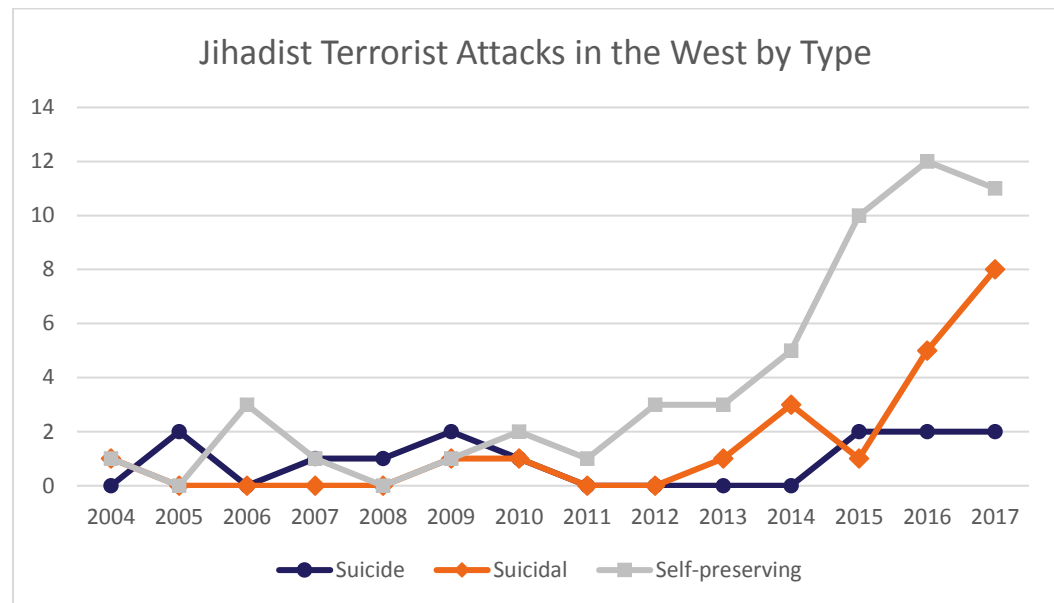
The first way to do this is to take into account the operational environment in which the attack took place. There are operational environments in which a terrorist could reasonably expect to be neutralised by security forces when openly carrying out a terrorist attack. When committing an attack in such an environment, the terrorist willingly and knowingly puts himself in a situation where he is clearly outnumbered and outgunned. While there may be no direct evidence of an ambition to die as a martyr, the fact that a perpetrator goes on the attack in such a setting strongly suggests he is looking to get himself killed. By creating a crisis situation and making himself a target for trained and armed security forces, the terrorist is essentially forcing these security forces to eliminate him. At the very least, a terrorist who behaves this way shows such a strong disregard for his own physical well-being that his behaviour could legitimately be labelled 'suicidal'.

Another way to recognise suicidal attacks is the absence of evidence that the perpetrator wanted to survive the attack. There have been quite a few cases (40 out of 87, or 46%) in which the perpetrator tried to escape after having committed the attack, which shows that the attack was not suicidal.²⁰ Two other terrorists surrendered to the authorities after having committed an attack, which also suggests that they were not committing suicide attacks. Of course, a lack of evidence that a perpetrator wanted to survive his terrorist attack does not automatically make the attack suicidal, but the reverse is certainly true: a terrorist who tries to escape or who turns himself in is not engaged in a suicidal attack.²¹

In order to get a more detailed view of the changes in the modus operandi of Western jihadists, all 87 jihadist attacks on the list have been labelled as either a suicide attack (perpetrator(s) killed themselves), a suicidal attack (perpetrator(s) wanted to get killed by security forces) or a self-preserving attack (perpetrator(s) wanted to survive). It is true that this categorisation is not unassailable. Suicide attacks are relatively easy to recognise, but it is sometimes hard to tell whether an attack is suicidal or self-preserving. Other researchers or analysts would perhaps classify some attacks on the list differently than the current author. Also, the numbers of attacks per year are still rather small, so the graphs and descriptive statistics presented below should be read with some caution. That said, the introduction of the category 'suicidal attack' does provide ground for some nuance regarding the intentions of the perpetrators of jihadist attacks. Most non-suicide attackers wanted to survive their attack, but a substantial number of them wanted to get killed.

²⁰ Perhaps it is worth noting that none of these 40 attacks were failed suicide attacks. A suicide bomber whose explosives fail to detonate might make a run for it, as well, like the perpetrators of the failed suicide bombing in London on 21 July 2005 did. This is the only such case in the set and it has not been included in the 40 escape attempts. Also, this number should not be read as a definitive measure of the jihadist wish to flee from the scenes of their own attacks. Some terrorist may have wanted to escape, but did not get the opportunity.

²¹ It is still possible that a terrorist who commits self-preserving attacks does want to die the death of a martyr. A case in point is Mohammed Merah, who committed three terrorist attacks and fled on a motorbike all three times, thus clearly showing that he did not want to get caught. But while all his attacks were self-preserving, he started a gun battle with the police officers who came to arrest him and told them he wanted to die as a mujahid. See Laura Smith-Spark, "Who Was French Gunman Mohammed Merah?," CNN, March 23, 2012, <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/03/21/world/europe/france-shooting-suspect-profile/index.html>.



Graph 2

As graph 2 shows, in the first half of the timeframe the numerical differences between the three kinds of attacks are small; they all occur no more than twice a year, except in 2006. The graph also shows, however, that suicidal attacks account for a sizeable part of the increase in the overall number of attacks in the second half of the timeframe, largely due to an increase in 2016 and 2017. Again, taking note of the caesura in the middle of the period that has been examined, suicide attacks account for 39% of all attacks in the period of 2004-2010, suicidal attacks for 17% and self-preserving attacks for 44%. The percentages for the latter half of the timeframe are very different: 9% of all attacks in the period of 2011-2017 were suicide attacks, 26% were suicidal attacks and 65% were self-preserving attacks. These percentages, while meaningful, do not bring out the overall increase of the number of jihadist attacks; in this respect, the absolute numbers are more revealing. The total number of suicide attacks fell from seven to six, while the number of suicidal attacks went from three to eighteen and the number of self-preserving attacks from eight to 45.

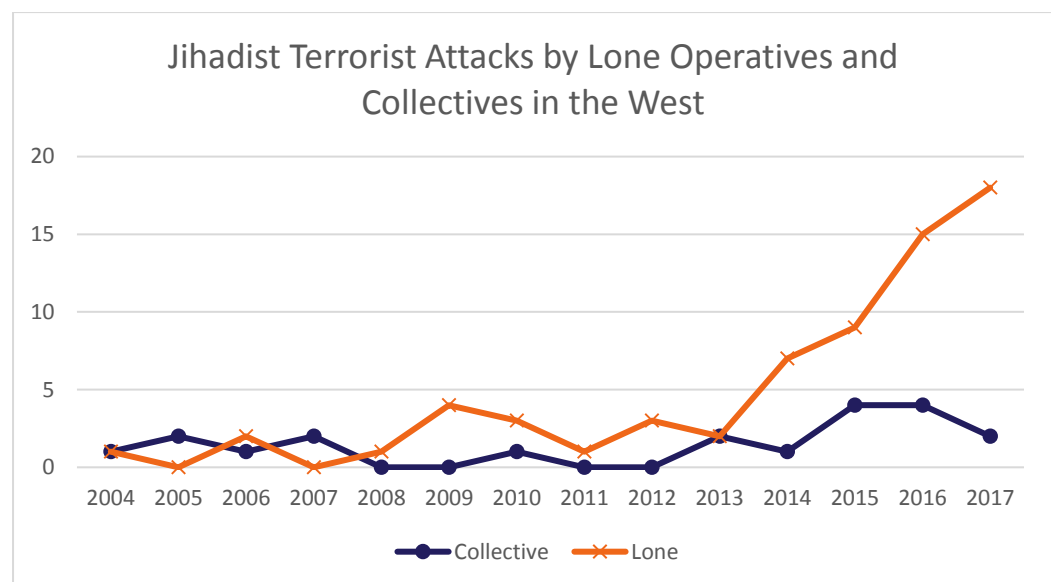
4. Analysis

Returning to the claim that has been made in the introduction, we can observe that there has been a shift in the jihadist modus operandi and that the suicide attack has become rarer in relative terms as a result of increases in the numbers of suicidal and self-preserving attacks. In a flagrant contradiction to the jihadists' boastful claims that they love death as much as we love life, the self-preserving attack is currently the most frequent kind of jihadist terrorist attack in the West. However, at the same time, the number of suicidal attacks has increased as well, and may at some point exceed the number of self-preserving attacks. There have been eleven self-preserving attacks in the first eleven months of 2017, against eight suicidal attacks. While this is not enough to speak of a new pattern, the number of suicidal attacks went from one in 2015 to five in 2016 and then to eight in 2017, so it would be interesting to see whether this increase will continue in the coming years.

But how do we explain this dual shift towards suicidal and self-preserving attacks? Hard evidence for any explanation would be hard to come by, because even if the perpetrators

themselves have a clear idea about why they chose one attack mode over the other two, they are rarely available for comment. However, there is another trend that offers a clue as to how the move towards non-suicide attacks (i.e. self-preserving and suicidal attacks) could be understood.

Graph 3 shows the numbers of attacks that have been committed by individuals and by collectives (groups of two people or more). Whether an attack counts as carried out by a collective or by an individual (lone-actor terrorist) depends on the actual execution of the attack, i.e. the firing of the guns, the placing and/or the detonation of the explosives, the stabbing of the victims and the supporting activities at the scene of the attack, such as driving a getaway vehicle. If all of these things have been carried out by one person, an attack has been considered the work of a lone-actor terrorist.



Graph 3

This graph, like the previous ones, should be read with some reservation, as, again, the numbers of attacks per year are still rather small.²² However, even with this caveat in mind, it is worth noting that the pattern in graph 3 is not entirely dissimilar to the pattern in graph 1. The number of attacks by lone perpetrators begins to increase at roughly the same time (perhaps a little later) and at roughly the same pace as the number of non-suicide attacks. And indeed, there appears to be a connection: the jihadists in the dataset who carried out their attacks alone are more likely to have committed self-preserving and suicidal attacks than the jihadists who carried out their attacks in collectives. Of all thirteen suicide attacks, seven have been carried out by collectives. This is a striking difference to the self-preserving attacks and the suicidal attacks: 79% (41 out of 52) of all self-preserving attacks and 86% (18 out of 21) of all suicidal attacks have been carried out by lone perpetrators.²³

But how can two contradictory trends (an increasing number of perpetrators who want to escape and an increasing number of perpetrators who want to get killed), be related to the same phenomenon? The key to squaring this circle might be feasibility. It is still

²² The bombing at Parson's Green of 15 September 2017 has not been included in this graph. At the time of writing, too little was known to confidently say whether the attack had been carried out by a lone operative or by a group.

²³ Percentages based on the data in Appendix I.

hard to tell whether this is in fact part of the reason why lone-actor terrorists tend to refrain from committing suicide attacks, but the data do suggest that they generally have a preference for weapon types that are easier to acquire and use than the IEDs that are typically used (twelve out of thirteen times) in suicide attacks. Of the 66 terrorists who attacked alone, nine (14%) used IEDs, compared to twelve out of the twenty collectives in the dataset (60%).²⁴

Admittedly, the fact that a terrorist carries out his attack alone does not automatically mean he has no one around to help him. Mohammed Bouyeri, the murderer of the Dutch Islam-critic Theo van Gogh, and Anis Amri, who committed a vehicle attack on a German Christmas market in 2016, had no help in the execution of their attacks, but they were certainly known in radical circles.²⁵ Other lone-actor terrorists were instructed through social media by Islamic State members in Syria²⁶, and yet others even attended terrorist training camps.²⁷ These examples fit the larger pattern observed in a study by Gill, Horgan and Deckert, who found that many lone-actor terrorists are in touch with larger – and sometimes violent – social movements with similar political goals.²⁸ But while there are ways for lone-actor terrorists to draw on the resources and expertise of other jihadists, working alone does come with certain operational limitations. Especially for lone operatives who choose to do their reconnaissance, weapons acquisition and other material preparations alone as well, as many of them do²⁹, it may be tempting not to engage in labour-intensive, risky and complex activities like fabricating explosives. Simpler attack modes, like vehicle, gun and knife attacks, may lend themselves more to attacks by one person,³⁰ which may partially explain the patterns observed in the previous paragraphs. Terrorists who attack alone may commit fewer suicide attacks since that attack mode requires them to make IEDs, so when attacks by lone operatives become more frequent, the numbers of suicidal and self-preserving attacks will go up, too.

Like all phenomena with any degree of complexity, the increase in the numbers of suicidal and self-preserving attacks is unlikely to be mono-causal. Rather, it is the effect of an interplay of factors, so in looking for an explanation we cannot stop at the number of lone-actor terrorists. One should also, for instance, consider the ‘strategy of a thousand cuts’, propagated prominently by Al-Qaeda’s Yemeni branch (AQAP). In November 2010, the group’s jihad glossy *Inspire* called on its followers to carry out small, simple attacks, calculating that a large number of small attacks would in the long-term have the same effect as a smaller number of large attacks. The weapons they suggested, like knives and vehicles, do not automatically kill the perpetrators as well, so jihadists taking this advice are likely to commit suicidal or self-preserving attacks.

²⁴ Percentages based on the data in Appendix I.

²⁵ Piet Hein Donner and Johan Remkes, “De Moord Op de Heer Th. van Gogh,” *Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2004–2005*, 29 854, nr.3, November 10, 2004; Philip Oltermann, “Berlin Attack: Security Services Feared Suspect Would Commit ‘Act of Violence,’” *The Guardian*, December 22, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/21/berlin-attack-german-police-leads>.

²⁶ Vidino, Marone, and Entenmann, “Fear Thy Neighbour,” 75.

²⁷ “Brussels Shooting Suspect Trained in Syria, Paris Prosecutor Says,” *France24*, June 1, 2014, <http://www.france24.com/en/20140601-video-brussels-museum-shooting-suspect-paris-arrest-syria>.

²⁸ John Horgan, Paul Gill, and Paige Deckert, “Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists,” *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 59, no. 2 (2014): 430.

²⁹ Clare Ellis et al. compiled a database of 120 lone-actor terrorists who acted “without any direct support in the planning, preparation and execution of the attack”, which suggests that terrorists who attack alone will also prepare their attacks alone. See Clare Ellis et al., “Lone-Actor Terrorism,” (London: RUSI, 2016).

³⁰ A similar suggestion has been made by Nesser and Stenersen, “The Modus Operandi of Jihadist Terrorists in Europe,” 2.

At the time, AQAP's call for small, independently organised attacks was considered a way for Al-Qaeda to adjust to the reality that they were an idea rather than an organisation³¹, but the 'strategy of a thousand cuts' has since been adopted by the Islamic State as well. The latter group's commitment to carrying out larger attacks is obvious, but it has also called on its supporters not to come to Syria and prepare attacks in their home countries instead, saying: "The smallest action you do in their heartland is better and more enduring to us than what you would do if you were with us [in Syria and Iraq]."³² Also, by celebrating jihadists like Mohammed Merah in their propaganda, the group is actively setting an example of a terrorist who committed small attacks.³³ Through their skilful use of propaganda through social media, the Islamic State is able to mobilise potential terrorists it never had any face-to-face contact with. For many of these inexperienced and untrained recruits, suicidal and self-preserving attacks are more feasible options, which may explain the increase in these two types of attacks after the Islamic State began to eclipse Al-Qaeda as the world's most notorious jihadist organisation.

Another factor with some explanatory value vis-à-vis the trend outlined in the previous section may be the tightening of security measures, mentioned by Nesser and Stenersen as one of the possible explanations for the increase in the use of knives and firearms. In their discussion of this factor, they refer to the example of Mohammed Merah, who asked his terrorist trainers in Waziristan to train him in the use of firearms, as he feared that the fabrication of explosives would only get him arrested.³⁴ In a similar vein, Hamm and Spaaij observed that post-9/11 lone-actor terrorists (not just jihadists) in the US rarely commit IED-attacks because the strict regulations on bomb making materials increase the likelihood of an arrest during the preparatory phase of an IED-attack.³⁵ Stronger evidence is clearly needed before one can confidently make this claim, but we should at least entertain the possibility that the operational environment in the West has become less permissive with regard to the preparation and execution of terrorist attacks with IEDs. According to this logic, the result of the security measures has been that the increase in the overall numbers of attacks is largely an increase of the number attacks with weapons that do not allow the perpetrators to kill themselves and their victims at the same time. (It should be noted that this explanation can easily go together with the previous ones. After all, stricter security measures may well have been one of the factors that led AQAP to adopt the 'strategy of a thousand cuts' and could be one of the aspects that make preparing IED-attacks risky to lone-actor terrorists.)

Finally, we might also consider the contagion effect. It has long been established that terrorists exhibit copycat behaviour³⁶, and it is hardly a coincidence that the number of vehicle attacks in Europe went up dramatically after the vehicle attack that killed scores of innocent people celebrating the 14th of July on the boulevard in Nice in 2016. Examples of deadly suicidal and self-preserving attacks are now widely available and show that

³¹ Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, "Bin Laden's 'War of a Thousand Cuts' Will Live on," *The Atlantic*, May 3, 2011, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/05/bin-ladens-war-of-a-thousand-cuts-will-live-on/238228/>.

³² "Islamic State Calls for Attacks on the West during Ramadan in Audio Message," *Reuters*, May 21, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-islamicstate/islamic-state-calls-for-attacks-on-the-west-during-ramadan-in-audio-message-idUSKCN0YCOOG>.

³³ Gilles Kepel, *Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017), 108.

³⁴ Nesser and Stenersen, "The Modus Operandi of Jihadist Terrorists in Europe," 12–13.

³⁵ Mark Hamm and Ramón Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism* (New York and Chisester: Columbia University Press, 2017), chap. 3.

³⁶ Brigitte Nacos, "Revisiting the Contagion Hypothesis: Terrorism, News Coverage, and Copycat Attacks," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 3, no. 3 (2009): 3–13.

carrying out a terrorist attack does not need much resources and expertise, so it shouldn't be surprising that there are people who follow that lead.

However, the link between lone-actor terrorists and simple attacks (which self-preserving and suicidal attacks often are) is not uncontested in the literature on lone-actor terrorism. Simon, for instance, states that lone-actor terrorists are more creative in devising attack plans, as they have no need to meet any demands imposed on them by the leadership of organisation.³⁷ Gill, on the other hand, has a decidedly lower opinion of the operational capabilities of lone-actor terrorists³⁸, and the findings of the current study suggest that he is closer to the mark, at least when it comes to jihadist terrorists in the West. If it is true that jihadist terrorists who act alone choose self-preserving and suicidal attacks because there is little else they can do, the creativity that Simon refers to is largely absent in the dataset that has been examined for the current study.

5. Implications

The dual trend towards more suicidal and self-preserving attacks has some important implications, not least with regard to the way the security forces should prepare for terrorist attacks. After all, security forces relate in a different way to the perpetrators of each of the three attack modes. Broadly speaking, the suicide terrorist will try to conceal his attack from the security forces, the suicidal terrorist will attack the security forces and the self-preserving terrorist will try to escape from the security forces. The main difference between the current period and the period of the 'classic' suicide attack is therefore that it is now much more likely that there is a perpetrator to be apprehended or neutralised during or after a terrorist attack.

This means, first, that terrorist manhunts are becoming more likely. The aftermath of the Boston bombings in 2013 was an extreme example in terms of the manpower and the impact on the city, which practically went into lockdown, but it was in its essence not exceptional. As the manhunts for the perpetrators of the recent vehicle attacks in Berlin and Barcelona make clear, identifying, tracking down and arresting fugitive terrorists is becoming a more important aspect of the police response to a terrorist attack. Unfortunately, the first police officers who confront terrorists on the run are not always specifically trained and equipped to deal with volatile and sometimes heavily-armed terrorists. This means that either they have to be trained and equipped to confront violent and armed suspects, or – and this is probably the cheaper and less far-reaching option – they need to have and follow strict protocols about when and how to contact special operations units and about what to do in the meantime. But whoever is assigned the task of confronting and neutralising the terrorist, training matters. In the words of one officer who had to arrest the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks in San Bernardino in December 2015: "Regional and realistic training was invaluable. Training came into play tenfold. We didn't have to think about how we should do it—we just did it."³⁹

Moreover, as the search for a fugitive terrorist is likely to involve many police and possibly military units, unity of command and interoperability are of the essence. Much hinges on coordination and information sharing, sometimes even between different

³⁷ Jeffrey Simon, *Lone Wolf Terrorism: Understanding the Growing Threat* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2013), 80.

³⁸ Paul Gill, *Lone-Actor Terrorists: A Behavioural Analysis* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 64.

³⁹ Rick Brazier et al., "Bringing Calm to Chaos: A Critical Incident Review of the San Bernardino Public Safety Response to the December 2, 2015, Terrorist Shooting Incident at the Inland Regional Center," (Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2016), 68.

countries, so the search for a terrorist will be much more efficient if there is clarity regarding the chain of command and the platforms and channels to share and receive information. Stovepiping should be avoided at all times, which means that it is crucial that protocols and training scenarios are adjusted accordingly.⁴⁰ The chaos that reportedly ensued after Anis Amri's attack on the Christmas market in Berlin in December 2016 is a painful illustration of what happens if the police do not have the right arrangements in place.⁴¹

As for the suicidal attack, it is important to note that this attack mode requires security forces to engage in armed confrontations in which they do not have the initiative. They will have to put an end to ongoing attacks in which they themselves might well be the targets. Thus, responding to suicidal attacks requires combat skills as well as a quick assessment of the situation and swift decision-making. With regard to the latter points, it is important to realise that suicidal attacks are rarely protracted affairs. The attack that began on the London Bridge in June 2017 was over in all but eight minutes, while the attack on police officers at Orly airport in March 2017 clocked in at less than three minutes.⁴² In such attacks, too, training could be of great help. The perpetrators of suicidal attacks are generally not heavily armed, so while they can do a lot of damage, neutralising them should not be beyond the capacities of security forces who are trained and prepared.

With the collapse of the Islamic State's caliphate, the possible return of large numbers of foreign fighters from Syria and Iraq, it remains to be seen for how long the jihadist modus operandi will follow the trends outlined in this Research Paper. The terrorist threat, so the cliché goes, is constantly changing, which means that effective counter-terrorism requires constant monitoring, updating of insights and challenging of assumptions. However, as far as is known to the author, there are still few scholarly attempts to do this specifically with regard to the jihadist modus operandi.⁴³ As the current study is intended to show, a systematic analysis of the way jihadist attacks have been carried out can be helpful in identifying the kinds of attacks we need to be prepared for. The research presented in the previous sections is only a modest attempt, and much more research into the jihadist modus operandi is needed. If we manage to understand which attack mode the jihadists are likely to choose and why, we are one step closer to an adequate preparation.

On a more conceptual level, the findings of the current study raise questions about what it is that jihadists hope to achieve by committing terrorist attacks the way they do. It has been suggested above that factors like feasibility and an unwillingness to risk arrest account for the increase in self-preserving and suicidal attacks, and the current study is not alone in making this point. Schuurman et al., for instance, have stated that "lone

⁴⁰ Frank Straub, Jennifer Zeunik, and Ben Gorban, "Lessons Learned from the Police Response to the San Bernardino and Orlando Terrorist Attacks," *CTC Sentinel* 10, no. 5 (2017): 4–6.

⁴¹ Alexander-Georg Rackow, "Fall Anis Amri: Polizei-Pannen Verhinderten Schnelleren Zugriff," *Focus*, September 15, 2017, http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/fall-anis-amri-bericht-deckt-peinliches-fuehrungsversagen-bei-polizei-auf_id_7597207.html.

⁴² "Within Eight Minutes Suspects Were Dead: Timeline of the London Bridge Attack," *The Guardian*, June 4, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/jun/04/within-eight-minutes-attackers-were-dead-timeline-of-the-london-bridge-attack>; Shehab Khan, "Paris Orly Attack: CCTV Footage Emerges of Gunman during French Airport Incident," *The Independent*, March 20, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/paris-orly-attack-airport-cctv-video-gunman-shouting-here-die-name-allah-a7640126.html>.

⁴³ Notable exceptions are Petter Nesser and his co-authors, whose work is being referred to throughout this paper.

actor extremists may match intention to capability rather than the other way around.”⁴⁴ If this is indeed the case, one might question the extent to which jihadist terrorism is a rational endeavour aimed at the realisation of political goals. On the one hand, choosing attack modes because they are feasible could be perceived as very rational; jihadists simply choose the easiest and least risky way to go about committing a terrorist attack. However, at the same time, by choosing the most feasible option, many perpetrators of self-preserving and suicidal attacks sacrifice the impact of their attacks to the point where it is virtually absent. There are exceptions, but many self-preserving and suicidal attacks on the list in Appendix I are so small and rudimentary that it is unlikely that many in the general public will even have heard about them. Thus, such attacks contribute little to the realisation of the jihadists’ political goals or even to the stoking of fear among the public.

This can mean two things that are not mutually exclusive. The perpetrators of self-preserving and suicidal attacks have higher hopes of the casualty rate of their actions, or they commit their attacks for reasons other than the attainment of their political goals. As Max Abrahms has argued with regard to more organised forms of terrorism, perpetrators of terrorist attacks do not always engage in terrorism because they want to bring about some kind of political change.⁴⁵ The same could go for terrorists who choose attack modes that are feasible but lack impact: perhaps the idea that they will have fulfilled a duty or will have demonstrated a commitment to their principles is more important than making a meaningful contribution to their cause. In other words, such attacks may be more about what Richard English calls “inherent awards to struggle as such.”⁴⁶ Obviously, we need to learn much more about the link between intention and modus operandi, and here, too, the current study can only scratch the surface. That said, we should not rule out the possibility that analyses of modus operandi can do more than help us in planning an operational response; the notion that modus operandi also offers a glimpse in the mind of a terrorist might be a starting point for the development of policies in the preventive sphere.

.....
⁴⁴ Bart Schuurman et al., “Lone Actor Terrorist Attack Planning and Preparation: A Data-Driven Analysis,” *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 2017, 7.

⁴⁵ Max Abrahms, “What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy,” *International Security* 32, no. 4 (2008): 94.

⁴⁶ Richard English, *Does Terrorism Work? A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 36–38.

Bibliography

Abrahms, Max. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy." *International Security* 32, no. 4 (2008): 78–105.

Adetunji, Jo. "Man Pleads Guilty to Attempted Restaurant Suicide Bombing." *The Guardian*, October 15, 2008. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/oct/15/uksecurity>.

Allen, Emily, and Barney Henderson. "Westminster Attack: Everything We Know so Far about the Events in London." *The Telegraph*, September 23, 2017. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/22/westminster-terror-attack-everything-know-far/>.

Almasy, Steve, and Shelby Lin Erdman. "Captured Jewish Museum Shooting Suspect Carried Weapons, Gas Mask." *CNN*, June 2, 2014. <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/01/world/europe/france-belgium-jewish-shooting/>.

Atran, Scott. "Genesis of Suicide Terrorism." *Science, American Association for the Advancement of Science* 299 (2003): 1534–39.

"Axe-Wielding Man Attacks Police Officers In New York Captured on CCTV (VIDEO)." *Huffington Post*, October 24, 2014. http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/10/24/axe-wielding-man-police-cctv-video_n_6043038.html.

"Barcelona and Cambrils Attacks: What We Know so Far." *BBC News*, August 27, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40964242>.

"Barcelona: Quiet Seaside Resort of Cambrils Emerges from a Terrifying Night." *AFP*, August 18, 2017. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/barcelona-quiet-seaside-resort-of-cambrils-emerges-from-a-terrifying-night/story-Czih8Dc6DnvezZmtjZE0UI.html>.

Barrett, J. "A Complete List of Radical Islamic Terror Attacks on US Soil under Obama." *The Daily Wire*, December 7, 2016. <http://www.dailywire.com/news/11410/complete-list-radical-islamic-terror-attacks-us-james-barrett#>.

Baum, Maia de la, and Dan Bilefski. "French Soldiers Guarding Jewish Site Are Attacked." *The New York Times*, February 4, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/world/europe/charlie-hebdo-sets-date-for-next-issue.html>.

Blandy, Fran. "12 Dead in 'Terrorist' Attack at Paris Paper." *AFP*, January 7, 2015. <https://www.yahoo.com/news/ten-dead-paris-newspaper-shooting-prosecutors-112635032.html>.

Bordonaro, Federico. "The October 2009 Terrorist Attack in Italy and Its Wider Implications." *CTC Sentinel* 2, no. 10 (2009): 4–6.

"Boston Marathon Bomber Trial: Footage of Dhokhar Tsarnaev Planting Bomb, Then Buying Milk." *News.com.au*, March 10, 2015. <http://www.news.com.au/world/boston-marathon-bomber-trial-footage-of-dhokhar-tsarnaev-planting-bomb-then-buying-milk/news-story/fe928da14022cdf75f5e8fd128798c92>.

Braziel, Rick, Frank Straub, George Watson, and Rod Hoops. "Bringing Calm to Chaos: A Critical Incident Review of the San Bernardino Public Safety Response to the December 2, 2015, Terrorist Shooting Incident at the Inland Regional Center." Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2016.

Brown, Cody. "The New Terrorism Debate." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 6, no. 3&4 (2007): 28–43.

"Brussels Explosions: What We Know about Airport and Metro Attacks." *BBC News*, April 9, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35869985>.

"Brussels Shooting Suspect Trained in Syria, Paris Prosecutor Says." *France24*, June 1, 2014. <http://www.france24.com/en/20140601-video-brussels-museum-shooting-suspect-paris-arrest-syria>.

Burns, Chris. "Hamburg Knife Attack Suspect Known as Islamist but Had No Terror Links." *CNN*, July 29, 2017. <http://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/29/europe/hamburg-supermarket-stabbing-suspect/index.html>.

Byrnes, Jesse. "Police: Philadelphia Officer Shot by Man Inspired by ISIS." *The Hill*, January 8, 2016. <http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/265230-police-philadelphia-officer-shot-by-man-inspired-by-isis>.

"Car Bomb Found in New York's Times Square." *BBC News*, May 2, 2010. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/8656651.stm>.

Catchpole, Zoe, and Damien Pearse. "Paris Airport Attacker Shouted: 'I'm Here to Die for Allah - There Will Be Deaths'." *Sky News*, March 17, 2017. <http://news.sky.com/story/terror-watchlist-suspect-shoots-police-officer-before-launching-paris-airport-attack-10805781>.

"Ce Que L'on Sait de L'agression À Notre-Dame de Paris." *Le Monde*, June 6, 2017. http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2017/06/06/les-forces-de-l-ordre-ont-neutralise-un-homme-ayant-agresse-un-policier-sur-le-parvis-de-notre-dame_5139598_3224.html.

Cerullo, Megan. "Ohio State University Attacker Denounced 'moderate' Muslims." *New York Daily News*, June 1, 2017. <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/ohio-state-university-attacker-denounced-moderate-muslims-article-1.3213337>.

"Champs-Elysees Attack Car 'Had Guns and Gas' - Paris Police." *BBC News*, June 17, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40332532>.

Chazan, David. "Man Shot Dead at Marseille Train Station after Killing Two Women in 'Terror' Attack." *The Telegraph*, October 1, 2017. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/10/01/man-shot-marseille-train-station-knife-attack/>.

Chrisafis, Angelique. "Toulouse School Shooting: Same Gun Was Used in Killing of Soldiers." *The Guardian*, March 19, 2012. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/mar/19/toulouse-shooting-three-killed-jewish-school>.

Chrisafis, Angelique, and David Smith. "French Police Officer Killed in Shooting on Champs Élysées." *The Guardian*, April 21, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/20/paris-shooting-policeman-killed-on-champs-elysees>.

"Cops Kill Man after Machete Attack at Ohio Deli." *CBS News*, February 12, 2016. <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/machete-attack-nazareth-restaurant-columbus-ohio-stabbing/>.

"COPS: Self-Styled Jihadist Admits to Killing 4 People, Calls It 'vengeance' for U.S. Actions in Mideast." *Q13 Fox*, August 20, 2014. <http://q13fox.com/2014/08/20/police-man-admits-to-4-murders-calls-them-vengeance-for-u-s-actions-in-mideast/>.

"Countering Violent Extremism: Actions Needed to Define Strategy and Assess Progress of Federal Efforts." Washington, DC: Government Accounting Office, 2017.

Couvertier, Dave. "Investigative Update Regarding Pulse Nightclub Shooting." Tampa: FBI, June 20, 2016. <https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/tampa/news/press-releases/investigative-update-regarding-pulse-nightclub-shooting>.

Crenshaw, Martha. "The Debate over 'Old' vs 'New' Terrorism." In *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge: European and American Experiences*, edited by R. Coolsaet, 57–68. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Dearden, Lizzie. "Teenage Girl Jailed for Stabbing Police Officer in Germany's First Isis-Commissioned Attack." *The Independent*, January 28, 2017. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-terror-attack-isis-islamic-state-hanover-train-station-police-officer-safia-s-15-teenage-a7551116.html>.

Deland, Maxime. "'Radicalized' Quebecer Shot Dead after Running down 2 Soldiers in Suspected Terrorist Attack." *Toronto Sun*, October 20, 2014. <http://www.torontosun.com/2014/10/20/possible-terror-attack-as-soldiers-run-down-in-quebec-parking-lot>.

"Denmark Shooting: Gunman Targets Islam Critic Hedegaard." *BBC News*, February 5, 2013. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-21341878>.

Di Ionno, Mark. "How Police Ended Terror Campaign of Suspect in Murder of College Student Brendan Tevlin." *Nj.com*, August 10, 2014. http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2014/08/how_police_ended_terror_campaign_of_tevlin_murder_suspect.html.

Dodd, Vikram. "Roshonara Choudhry: Police Interview Extracts." *The Guardian*, November 3, 2010. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/nov/03/roshonara-choudhry-police-interview>.

Dodd, Vikram, and Esther Addley. "Leytonstone Knife Attack: Man Convicted of Attempted Murder." *The Guardian*, June 8, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jun/08/leytonstone-knife-attack-man-convicted-of-attempted>.

Donner, Piet Hein, and Johan Remkes. Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2004–2005, 29 854, nr.3. "De Moord Op de Heer Th. van Gogh." Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2004–2005, 29 854, nr.3, November 10, 2004.

Ellis, Clare, Raffaello Pantucci, Jeanine de Roy van Zuijdewijn, Edwin Bakker, Benoît Gomis, Simon Palombi, and Melanie Smith. "Lone-Actor Terrorism." London: RUSI, 2016.

English, Richard. *Does Terrorism Work? A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
 "Flaming SUV Rams U.K. Airport; 2 Arrests." *Associated Press*, June 30, 2007.
http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20070630/ap_on_re_eu/britain_airport_crash_38.

"Four Guilty over 21/7 Bomb Plot." *BBC News*, July 10, 2007.
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/6284350.stm.

"France Attack: Man Decapitated at Factory near Lyon." *BBC News*, June 26, 2015.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33284937>.

"French Jihadist Police Killer 'Obeyed Islamic State Call.'" *BBC News*, June 14, 2016.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36530710>.

"French Soldier Stabbing: Man on Terrorism-Linked Charges." *BBC News*, May 31, 2013.
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22735883>.

Ganor, Boaz. "The Rationality of the Islamic Radical Suicide Attack Phenomenon." In *Countering Suicide Terrorism*, 5–11. Herzliya: Institute for Counter Terrorism, 2000.

Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed. "Abdulkhakim Mujahid Muhammad (Carlos Bledsoe): A Case Study in Lone Wolf Terrorism." *Jihadology*, December 23, 2013.
<http://jihadology.net/2013/12/23/guest-post-abdulkhakim-mujahid-muhammad-carlos-bledsoe-a-case-study-in-lone-wolf-terrorism/>.

———. "Bin Laden's 'War of a Thousand Cuts' Will Live on." *The Atlantic*, May 3, 2011.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/05/bin-ladens-war-of-a-thousand-cuts-will-live-on/238228/>.

"German Suitcase Bombs 'Part of Terrorist Plot.'" *CNN*, August 18, 2006.
<http://edition.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/europe/08/18/germany.suitcase.bombs/index.html>.

"German Teens Sentenced for Sikh Temple Bombing in Essen." *Deutsche Welle*, March 21, 2017. <http://www.dw.com/en/german-teens-sentenced-for-sikh-temple-bombing-in-essen/a-38043937>.

Gill, Paul. *Lone-Actor Terrorists: A Behavioural Analysis*. London and New York: Routledge, 2015.

Goodman, Al. "Spain: ETA Peace Process in 'Preliminary' Phase." *CNN*, December 20, 2006. http://articles.cnn.com/2006-12-20/world/spain.eta_1_eta-peace-process-arms-factory?s=PM:WORLD.

Grange, Arnaud. "Man Who Drove Car at French Troops Had Jihadi Propaganda in Computer: Prosecutor." *Reuters*, January 2, 2016. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-attacks-mosque/man-who-drove-car-at-french-troops-had-jihadi-propaganda-in-computer-prosecutor-idUSKBN0UG0ED20160102>.

Griwkowsky, Catherine, Jonny Wakefield, and Paige Parsons. "'Acts of Terrorism' in Edmonton: Officer Stabbed, Pedestrians Run down." *Edmonton Journal*, October 1, 2017. <http://edmontonjournal.com/news/crime/heavy-police-presence-near-commonwealth-stadium-officers-checking-vehicles>.

Gross, Jenny, and Stu Woo. "Buckingham Palace Terror Attack Suspect Got Lost En Route to Original Target." *Wall Street Journal*, September 1, 2017. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/buckingham-palace-terror-attack-suspect-got-lost-en-route-to-original-target-1504290028>.

Halliday, Josh. "Former Manchester United Steward Jailed for Life for Imam Murder." *The Guardian*, September 16, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/16/former-manchester-united-steward-convicted-murder-imam-mohammed-syeedy>.

Hamm, Mark, and Ramón Spaaij. *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*. New York and Chisester: Columbia University Press, 2017.

Hegghammer, Thomas, and Petter Nesser. "Assessing the Islamic State's Commitment to Attacking the West." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9, no. 4 (2015): 14–30.

Henderson, Barney, Josie Endor, and Harriet Alexander. "Copenhagen Shooting during Debate on Islam: Live." *The Telegraph*, February 15, 2015. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/denmark/11413226/Copenhagen-shooting-during-debate-on-Islam.html>.

Hensley, Nicole. "Seattle Fugitive Suspected of Killing Two Gay Men Nabbed in New Jersey." *Daily News*, July 19, 2014. <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/crime/man-sought-seattle-gay-hate-crime-murders-nabbed-new-jersey-article-1.1873190>.

Higgins, Andrew. "France Agonizes over Whether Truck Rampage Could Have Been Stopped." *The New York Times*, July 16, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/17/world/europe/france-nice-truck-attack.html?mcubz=1>.

Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside Terrorism*. Revised & Enlarged. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Horgan, John, Paul Gill, and Paige Deckert. "Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists." *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 59, no. 2 (2014): 425–35.

Hume, Tim, Lindsay Isaac, and Paul Cruickshank. "French Terror Attacker Threatened Euro 2016 in Facebook Video, Source Says." *BBC News*, June 14, 2016. <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/06/14/europe/french-policeman-terror-attack/index.html>.

Hutson, Harold Range, Deirdre Anglin, John Yarbrough, Kimberly Hardaway, Marie Russell, Michael Canter, and Bennett Blum. "Suicide by Cop." *Annals of Emergency Medicine* 32, no. 6 (1998): 665–69.

“Islamic State Calls for Attacks on the West during Ramadan in Audio Message.” *Reuters*, May 21, 2016. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-islamicstate/islamic-state-calls-for-attacks-on-the-west-during-ramadan-in-audio-message-idUSKCN0YCOOG>.

Kendall, Janelle P. “RE: Jason Frederick Falconer,” October 6, 2016. <https://www.scribd.com/document/326680623/Stearns-County-Attorney-s-Letter-on-Justified-Use-of-Deadly-Force-by-Off-Duty-Officer>.

Kepel, Gilles. *Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Khan, Shehab. “Paris Orly Attack: CCTV Footage Emerges of Gunman during French Airport Incident.” *The Independent*, March 20, 2017. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/paris-orly-attack-airport-cctv-video-gunman-shouting-here-die-name-allah-a7640126.html>.

Khunkham, Kritsanarat. “Mutiger Zeuge Führt Die Polizei Zum Verdächtigen.” *Die Welt*, December 20, 2016. <https://www.welt.de/vermischtes/article160454887/Mutiger-Zeuge-fuehrt-die-Polizei-zum-Verdaechtigen.html>.

“Kosovan Albanian Admits Killing Two US Airmen in Frankfurt Terror Attack.” *The Guardian*, August 21, 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/aug/31/kosovan-albanian-admits-killing-airmen>.

“Lee Rigby Trial: Adebawale and Adebolajo ‘Wanted Martyrdom.’” *BBC News*, 2013/12/18 edition. Accessed September 22, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-25427562>.

Lichfield, John. “Man Shot Dead by Police in Jihadist Attack in Tours.” *The Independent*, December 21, 2014. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/man-shot-dead-by-police-in-jihadist-attack-in-tours-9938912.html>.

Lockhart, Keely. “Chilling Footage Shows New York Attack Suspect Sayfullo Saipov Brandishing ‘Weapon’ before Arrest.” *The Telegraph*, November 1, 2017. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/11/01/chilling-footage-shows-new-york-attack-suspectsayfullo-saipov/>.

Marcum, Diana, and Matt Hamilton. “Man Praised as Hero for Thwarting UC Merced Stabbing Rampage.” *LA Times*, November 5, 2015. <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-hero-uc-merced-stabbing-rampage-20151104-story.html>.

Martin, Naomi, and Ray Lesczynski. “Garland Police Say They Had No Tip about Attack at Culwell Center.” *Dallas News*, May 11, 2015. <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/05/11/garland-police-say-they-had-no-tip-about-attack-at-culwell-center>.

Merari, Ariel. "The Readiness to Kill and Die: Suicidal Terrorism in the Middle East." In *Origins of Terrorism*, edited by W. Reich, 192–207. Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998.

Meyjes, Toby. "Video Shows Moment Priest Killers Were Shot Dead by Armed Police." *Metro*, July 27, 2016. <http://metro.co.uk/2016/07/27/video-shows-moment-priest-killers-were-shot-dead-by-armed-police-6033292/>.

Milewski, Terry. "Ottawa Shooting: Reconstructing the Centre Block Shootout." *CBC News*, November 2, 2014. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/ottawa-shooting-reconstructing-the-centre-block-shootout-1.2821338>.

Nacos, Brigitte L. "Revisiting the Contagion Hypothesis: Terrorism, News Coverage, and Copycat Attacks." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 3, no. 3 (2009): 3–13.

"NBI: Turku Attack Suspect Had Two Alternative Targets." *Yle*, September 8, 2017. https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/nbi_turku_attack_suspect_had_two_alternative_targets/9822061.

Nesser, Petter. "Appendix: Chronology of Jihadism in Europe 1994-2015." London: Hurst Publishers, 2015.

Nesser, Petter, and Anne Stenersen. "The Modus Operandi of Jihadist Terrorists in Europe." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8, no. 6 (2014): 2–24.

Nesser, Petter, Anne Stenersen, and Emilie Oftedal. "Jihadi Terrorism in Europe: The IS-Effect." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 10, no. 6 (2016): 3–24.

Norman, Laurence. "Belgium Launches Terror Probe as ISIS Claims Machete Attack." *Wall Street Journal*, August 7, 2016. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/belgium-launches-terror-investigation-into-charleroi-machete-attack-1470570832>.

Oltermann, Philip. "Berlin Attack: Security Services Feared Suspect Would Commit 'Act of Violence.'" *The Guardian*, December 22, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/21/berlin-attack-german-police-leads>.

Pape, Robert. *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House, 2005.

"Paris Attack: Man Held after Car Rams into Soldiers." *BBC News*, August 9, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40873801>.

"Paris Attacks: What Happened on the Night." *BBC News*, December 9, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994>.

Pedahzur, Ami. *Suicide Terrorism*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2005.

Peters, Ruud. "De Ideologische En Religieuze Ontwikkeling van Mohammed B.," 2005. http://www.sociosite.org/jihad/peters_rapport.pdf.

Pleitgen, Frederik, Tim Hume, and Euan McKirdy. "Suicide Bomber in Germany Pledged Allegiance to ISIS Leader." *CNN*, July 26, 2016. <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/07/24/world/ansbach-germany-blast/index.html>.

Rackow, Alexander-Georg. "Fall Anis Amri: Polizei-Pannen Verhinderten Schnelleren Zugriff." *Focus*, September 15, 2017. http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/fall-anis-amri-bericht-deckt-peinliches-fuehrungsversagen-bei-polizei-auf_id_7597207.html.

Ranstorpe, Magnus. "Terrorist Awakening in Sweden?" *CTC Sentinel* 4, no. 1 (2011): 1–5.

Rayner, Gordon. "Paris Double Hostage Crisis Results in Separate Bloody Sieges as Terrorists Are Killed." *The Telegraph*, January 9, 2015. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11335132/Paris-Charlie-Hebdo-attack-how-police-finally-closed-in-on-the-killers.html>.

Reinares, Fernando. *Al-Qaeda's Revenge: The 2004 Madrid Train Bombings*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.

—. "The Madrid Bombings and Global Jihadism." *Survival* 52, no. 2 (2010): 83–104. "Report of the Official Account of the Bombings in London on 7th July 2005." London: House of Commons, 2006.

Ross, Brian, Doug Lantz, and James Gordon Meek. "Chattanooga Shooter Researched Religious Justification for Violence: Official." *ABC News*, July 20, 2015. <http://abcnews.go.com/US/chattanooga-shooting-fbi-recovers-gunmans-disturbing-diary/story?id=32558310>.

Ross, Brian, and Rhonda Schwartz. "Major Hasan's E-Mail: 'I Can't Wait to Join You' in Afterlife." *ABC News*, November 19, 2009. <http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/major-hasans-mail-wait-join-afterlife/story?id=9130339>.

Santora, Marc, and Adam Goldman. "Ahmed Khan Rahami Was Inspired by Bin Laden, Prosecutors Say." *The New York Times*, September 21, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/nyregion/ahmad-khan-rahami-suspect.html>.

Schuurman, Bart, Edwin Bakker, Paul Gill, and Noemie Bouhana. "Lone Actor Terrorist Attack Planning and Preparation: A Data-Driven Analysis." *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 2017, 1–10.

Simon, Jeffrey D. *Lone Wolf Terrorism: Understanding the Growing Threat*. New York: Prometheus Books, 2013.

Smith-Spark, Laura. "Who Was French Gunman Mohammed Merah?" *CNN*, March 23, 2012. <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/03/21/world/europe/france-shooting-suspect-profile/index.html>.

"Stockholm Suspect, IS Sympathiser Who 'Partied and Drank': Media." *AFP*, April 10, 2017. <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/stockholm-suspect-is-sympathiser-who-partied-and-drank-media/ar-BBzCEtt>.

Straub, Frank, Jennifer Zeunik, and Ben Gorban. "Lessons Learned from the Police Response to the San Bernardino and Orlando Terrorist Attacks." *CTC Sentinel* 10, no. 5 (2017): 1–7.

Sullivan, Jennifer. "Haq Apologizes, Receives Life Sentence for Jewish Federation Shooting." *Seattle Times*, January 14, 2010. <http://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/haq-apologizes-receives-life-sentence-for-jewish-federation-shooting/>.

“Teenager with Machete Attacks Jewish Teacher in Marseille.” *The Guardian*, January 11, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/11/teenager-machete-attacks-jewish-teacher-marseille>.

“Two Car Bombs Found in West End.” *BBC News*, June 29, 2007. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/6255960.stm.

“UK Police: 22 Confirmed Dead after Terror Incident at Ariana Grande Concert.” *CBS News*, May 23, 2017. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/ariana-grande-concert-manchester-arena-explosion/>.

Ulrich, Andreas. “Germany Attackers Had Contact with Suspected IS Members.” *Spiegel Online*, August 5, 2016. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/attackers-in-germany-had-contact-with-suspected-is-members-a-1106271.html>.

“Underwear Bomber Abdulmutallab Sentenced to Life.” *BBC News*, February 16, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-17065130>.

Vandoorne, Saskya. “France on High Security Alert after 4 Killed in Shooting at Jewish School.” *CNN*, March 20, 2012. <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/03/19/world/europe/france-shooting/index.html>.

Vidino, Lorenzo, Francesco Marone, and Eva Entenmann. “Fear Thy Neighbour: Radicalization and Jihadist Attacks in the West.” Milan: ICCT, ISPI and George Washington University, 2017.

Webster, William H., Douglas E. Winter, Adrian L. Steel, Russell J. Bruemmer, and Kenneth L. Wainstein. “Final Report of the William H. Webster Commission on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Intelligence and the Events at Fort Hood, Texas on November 5, 2009,” 2012.

Winter, Charlie. “War by Suicide: A Statistical Analysis of the Islamic State’s Martyrdom Industry.” *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 8, no.3 (2017).

“Within Eight Minutes Suspects Were Dead: Timeline of the London Bridge Attack.” *The Guardian*, June 4, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/jun/04/within-eight-minutes-attackers-were-dead-timeline-of-the-london-bridge-attack>.

Wright, Paul. “German Train Attack: Riaz Khan Ahmadzai Left Letter Saying Muslims ‘Must Defend Themselves.’” *International Business Times*, July 20, 2016. <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/german-train-attack-riaz-khan-ahmadzai-left-letter-saying-muslims-must-defend-themselves-1571681>.

Appendix I: List of Terrorist Attacks in the West, March 2004 – November 2017

Date	City	Nature	Explanation	Lone Perpetrator	IED
11-3-2004	Madrid	Self-preserving	Perpetrators placed explosives ⁴⁷	No	Yes
2-11-2004	Amsterdam	Suicidal	Perpetrator expressed desire to die ⁴⁸	Yes	No
7-7-2005	London	Suicide	Suicide bombing ⁴⁹	No	Yes
21-7-2005	London	Suicide	Attempted suicide bombing ⁵⁰	No	Yes
3-3-2006	Chapel Hill (US)	Self-preserving	Perpetrator turned himself in ⁵¹	Yes	No
28-7-2006	Seattle	Self-preserving	Perpetrator turned himself in ⁵²	Yes	No
31-7-2006	Hamm / Koblenz	Self-preserving	Hidden explosives ⁵³	No	Yes
29-6-2007	London	Self-preserving	Hidden explosives ⁵⁴	No	Yes
30-6-2007	Glasgow	Suicide	Vehicle ramming with explosives ⁵⁵	No	Yes
22-5-2008	Exeter (UK)	Suicide	Failed suicide bombing ⁵⁶	Yes	Yes
1-6-2009	Little Rock (US)	Self-preserving	Escape ⁵⁷	Yes	No
12-10-2009	Milan	Suicide	Failed suicide bombing ⁵⁸	Yes	Yes

⁴⁷ Fernando Reinares, *Al-Qaeda's Revenge: The 2004 Madrid Train Bombings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).

⁴⁸ Ruud Peters, "De Ideologische En Religieuze Ontwikkeling van Mohammed B.," 2005, 18.

⁴⁹ "Report of the Official Account of the Bombings in London on 7th July 2005" (London: House of Commons, 2006), 11.

⁵⁰ "Four Guilty over 21/7 Bomb Plot," *BBC News*, July 10, 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/6284350.stm.

⁵¹ Al Goodman, "Spain: ETA Peace Process in 'Preliminary' Phase," *CNN*, December 20, 2006, http://articles.cnn.com/2006-12-20/world/spain.eta_1_eta-peace-process-arms-factory?s=PM:WORLD.

⁵² Jennifer Sullivan, "Haq Apologizes, Receives Life Sentence for Jewish Federation Shooting," *Seattle Times*, January 14, 2010, <http://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/haq-apologizes-receives-life-sentence-for-jewish-federation-shooting/>.

⁵³ "German Suitcase Bombs 'Part of Terrorist Plot,'" *CNN*, August 18, 2006, <http://edition.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/europe/08/18/germany.suitcase.bombs/index.html>.

⁵⁴ "Two Car Bombs Found in West End," *BBC News*, June 29, 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/6255960.stm.

⁵⁵ "Flaming SUV Rams U.K. Airport; 2 Arrests," *Associated Press*, June 30, 2007, http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20070630/ap_on_re_eu/britain_airport_crash_38.

⁵⁶ Jo Adetunji, "Man Pleads Guilty to Attempted Restaurant Suicide Bombing," *The Guardian*, October 15, 2008, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/oct/15/uksecurity>.

⁵⁷ Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, "Abdulkhakim Mujahid Muhammad (Carlos Bledsoe): A Case Study in Lone Wolf Terrorism," *Jihadology*, December 23, 2013, <http://jihadology.net/2013/12/23/guest-post-abdulkhakim-mujahid-muhammad-carlos-bledsoe-a-case-study-in-lone-wolf-terrorism/>.

⁵⁸ Federico Bordonaro, "The October 2009 Terrorist Attack in Italy and Its Wider Implications," *CTC Sentinel* 2, no. 10 (2009): 4–6.

5-11-2009	Fort Hood (US)	Suicidal	Perpetrator expressed desire to die ⁵⁹	Yes	No
24-12-2009	Detroit	Suicide	Failed suicide bombing ⁶⁰	Yes	Yes
1-1-2010	Aarhus	Self-preserving	No evidence of desire to die	Yes	No
1-5-2010	New York	Self-preserving	Hidden explosives ⁶¹	No	Yes
14-5-2010	London	Suicidal	Perpetrator expressed desire to die ⁶²	Yes	No
11-12-2010	Stockholm	Suicide	Failed suicide bombing ⁶³	Yes	No
29-4-2011	Stuttgart	Self-preserving	Escape ⁶⁴	Yes	No
11-3-2012	Toulouse	Self-preserving	Escape ⁶⁵	Yes	No
15-3-2012	Montauban	Self-preserving	Escape ⁶⁶	Yes	No
19-3-2012	Toulouse	Self-preserving	Escape ⁶⁷	Yes	No
5-2-2013	Copenhagen	Self-preserving	Escape ⁶⁸	Yes	No
15-4-2013	Boston	Self-preserving	Hidden explosives ⁶⁹	No	Yes
22-5-2013	London	Suicidal	Perpetrators expressed desire to die ⁷⁰	No	No

⁵⁹ William H. Webster et al., "Final Report of the William H. Webster Commission on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Intelligence and the Events at Fort Hood, Texas on November 5, 2009," 57–58; Ross and Schwartz, "Major Hasan's E-Mail: 'I Can't Wait to Join You' in Afterlife."

⁶⁰ "Underwear Bomber Abdulmutallab Sentenced to Life," *BBC News*, February 16, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-17065130>.

⁶¹ "Car Bomb Found in New York's Times Square," *BBC News*, May 2, 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/8656651.stm>.

⁶² Vikram Dodd, "Roshonara Choudhry: Police Interview Extracts," *The Guardian*, November 3, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/nov/03/roshonara-choudhry-police-interview>.

⁶³ Magnus Ranstorp, "Terrorist Awakening in Sweden?," *CTC Sentinel* 4, no. 1 (2011): 1–5.

⁶⁴ "Kosovan Albanian Admits Killing Two US Airmen in Frankfurt Terror Attack," *The Guardian*, August 21, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/aug/31/kosovan-albanian-admits-killing-airmen>.

⁶⁵ Angelique Chrisafis, "Toulouse School Shooting: Same Gun Was Used in Killing of Soldiers," *The Guardian*, March 19, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/mar/19/toulouse-shooting-three-killed-jewish-school>.

⁶⁶ Chrisafis.

⁶⁷ Saskya Vandoorne, "France on High Security Alert after 4 Killed in Shooting at Jewish School," *CNN*, March 20, 2012, <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/03/19/world/europe/france-shooting/index.html>.

⁶⁸ "Denmark Shooting: Gunman Targets Islam Critic Hedegaard," *BBC News*, February 5, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-21341878>.

⁶⁹ "Boston Marathon Bomber Trial: Footage of Dhokhar Tsarnaev Planting Bomb, Then Buying Milk," *News.com.au*, March 10, 2015, <http://www.news.com.au/world/boston-marathon-bomber-trial-footage-of-dhokhar-tsarnaev-planting-bomb-then-buying-milk/news-story/fe928da14022cdf75f5e8fd128798c92>.

⁷⁰ "Lee Rigby Trial: Adebawale and Adebolajo 'Wanted Martyrdom,'" *BBC News*, 2013/12/18 edition, accessed September 22, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-25427562>.

27-5-2013	Paris	Self-preserving	Escape ⁷¹	Yes	No
27-4-2014	Seattle	Self-preserving	Escape ⁷²	Yes	No
24-5-2014	Brussels	Self-preserving	Escape ⁷³	Yes	No
1-6-2014	Seattle	Self-preserving	Escape ⁷⁴	Yes	No
25-6-2014	West Orange (US)	Self-preserving	Escape ⁷⁵	Yes	No
20-10-2014	St. Jean-sur-Richelieu (Can)	Self-preserving	Escape ⁷⁶	Yes	No
22-10-2014	Ottawa	Suicidal	Perpetrator attacked heavily guarded building ⁷⁷	Yes	No
23-10-2014	New York	Suicidal	Perpetrator attacked group of armed police officers ⁷⁸	Yes	No
20-12-2014	Joué-lès-Tours	Suicidal	Perpetrator attacked group of armed police officers ⁷⁹	Yes	No
7-1-2015	Paris	Self-preserving	Escape ⁸⁰	No	No

⁷¹ "French Soldier Stabbing: Man on Terrorism-Linked Charges," *BBC News*, May 31, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22735883>.

⁷² "COPS: Self-Styled Jihadist Admits to Killing 4 People, Calls It 'vengeance' for U.S. Actions in Mideast," *Q13 Fox*, August 20, 2014, <http://q13fox.com/2014/08/20/police-man-admits-to-4-murders-calls-them-vengeance-for-u-s-actions-in-mideast/>.

⁷³ Steve Almasy and Shelby Lin Erdman, "Captured Jewish Museum Shooting Suspect Carried Weapons, Gas Mask," *CNN*, June 2, 2014, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/01/world/europe/france-belgium-jewish-shooting/>.

⁷⁴ Nicole Hensley, "Seattle Fugitive Suspected of Killing Two Gay Men Nabbed in New Jersey," *Daily News*, July 19, 2014, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/crime/man-sought-seattle-gay-hate-crime-murders-nabbed-new-jersey-article-1.1873190>.

⁷⁵ Markk Di Ionno, "How Police Ended Terror Campaign of Suspect in Murder of College Student Brendan Tevlin," *Nj.com*, August 10, 2014, http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2014/08/how_police_ended_terror_campaign_of_tevlin_murder_suspect.html.

⁷⁶ Maxime Deland, "'Radicalized' Quebecer Shot Dead after Running down 2 Soldiers in Suspected Terrorist Attack," *Toronto Sun*, October 20, 2014, <http://www.torontosun.com/2014/10/20/possible-terror-attack-as-soldiers-run-down-in-quebec-parking-lot>.

⁷⁷ Terry Milewski, "Ottawa Shooting: Reconstructing the Centre Block Shootout," *CBC News*, November 2, 2014, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/ottawa-shooting-reconstructing-the-centre-block-shootout-1.2821338>.

⁷⁸ "Axe-Wielding Man Attacks Police Officers In New York Captured on CCTV (VIDEO)," *Huffington Post*, October 24, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/10/24/axe-wielding-man-police-cctv-video_n_6043038.html.

⁷⁹ John Lichfield, "Man Shot Dead by Police in Jihadist Attack in Tours," *The Independent*, December 21, 2014, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/man-shot-dead-by-police-in-jihadist-attack-in-tours-9938912.html>.

⁸⁰ Fran Blandy, "12 Dead in 'Terrorist' Attack at Paris Paper," *AFP*, January 7, 2015, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/ten-dead-paris-newspaper-shooting-prosecutors-112635032.html>.

9-1-2015	Paris	Self-preserving	Hostage taking ⁸¹	Yes	No
9-2-2015	Nice	Self-preserving	Escape ⁸²	Yes	No
14-2-2015	Copenhagen	Self-preserving	Escape ⁸³	Yes	No
15-2-2015	Copenhagen	Self-preserving	Escape ⁸⁴	Yes	No
3-5-2015	Garland	Self-preserving	Perpetrators wore body armour ⁸⁵ , no testaments suggesting they wanted to die as martyrs	No	No
26-6-2015	St. Quentin-Fallavier	Suicide	Suicide car ramming ⁸⁶	Yes	No
16-7-2015	Chattanooga (US)	Suicidal	Perpetrator expressed desire to die ⁸⁷	Yes	No
21-8-2015	Oignies (Fra)	Self-preserving	No evidence of desire to die	Yes	No
4-11-2015	Merced (US)	Self-preserving	Escape ⁸⁸	Yes	No
13-11-2015	Paris	Suicide	Suicide bombings ⁸⁹	No	Yes
2-12-2015	San Bernardino	Self-preserving	Escape	No	Yes
5-12-2015	Leytonstone (UK)	Self-preserving	No evidence of desire to die ⁹⁰	Yes	No

⁸¹ Gordon Rayner, "Paris Double Hostage Crisis Results in Separate Bloody Sieges as Terrorists Are Killed," *The Telegraph*, January 9, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11335132/Paris-Charlie-Hebdo-attack-how-police-finally-closed-in-on-the-killers.html>.

⁸² Maia de la Baum and Dan Bilefski, "French Soldiers Guarding Jewish Site Are Attacked," *The New York Times*, February 4, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/world/europe/charlie-hebdo-sets-date-for-next-issue.html>.

⁸³ Barney Henderson, Josie Endor, and Harriet Alexander, "Copenhagen Shooting during Debate on Islam: Live," *The Telegraph*, February 15, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/denmark/11413226/Copenhagen-shooting-during-debate-on-Islam.html>.

⁸⁴ Henderson, Endor, and Alexander.

⁸⁵ Naomi Martin and Ray Lesczynski, "Garland Police Say They Had No Tip about Attack at Culwell Center," *Dallas News*, May 11, 2015, <https://www.dallasnews.com/news/crime/2015/05/11/garland-police-say-they-had-no-tip-about-attack-at-culwell-center>.

⁸⁶ "France Attack: Man Decapitated at Factory near Lyon," *BBC News*, June 26, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33284937>.

⁸⁷ Brian Ross, Doug Lantz, and James Gordon Meek, "Chattanooga Shooter Researched Religious Justification for Violence: Official," *ABC News*, July 20, 2015, <http://abcnews.go.com/US/chattanooga-shooting-fbi-recover-gunmans-disturbing-diary/story?id=32558310>.

⁸⁸ Diana Marcum and Matt Hamilton, "Man Praised as Hero for Thwarting UC Merced Stabbing Rampage," *LA Times*, November 5, 2015, <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-hero-uc-merced-stabbing-rampage-20151104-story.html>.

⁸⁹ "Paris Attacks: What Happened on the Night," *BBC News*, December 9, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994>.

⁹⁰ Vikram Dodd and Esther Addley, "Leytonstone Knife Attack: Man Convicted of Attempted Murder," *The Guardian*, June 8, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jun/08/leytonstone-knife-attack-man-convicted-of-attempted>.

1-12-2016	Valence	Suicidal	Perpetrator expressed desire to die ⁹¹	Yes	No
7-1-2016	Philadelphia	Self-preserving	Escape ⁹²	Yes	No
11-1-2016	Marseille	Self-preserving	Escape ⁹³	Yes	No
11-2-2016	Columbus (US)	Self-preserving	Escape ⁹⁴	Yes	No
18-2-2016	Rochdale	Self-preserving	Escape ⁹⁵	No	No
22-2-2016	Hannover	Suicidal	Martyr attack ordered by ISIS ⁹⁶	Yes	No
22-3-2016	Brussels	Suicide	Suicide bombing ⁹⁷	No	Yes
16-4-2016	Essen (Ger)	Self-preserving	Escape ⁹⁸	No	Yes
12-6-2016	Orlando	Self-preserving	Hostage taking, perpetrator made demands, tried to keep police away ⁹⁹	Yes	No
13-6-2016	Magnanville (Fra)	Self-preserving	Surprise attack on unarmed victims ¹⁰⁰ , perpetrator tried to keep the police away ¹⁰¹	Yes	No

⁹¹ Arnaud Grange, "Man Who Drove Car at French Troops Had Jihadi Propaganda in Computer: Prosecutor," *Reuters*, January 2, 2016, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-attacks-mosque/man-who-drove-car-at-french-troops-had-jihadi-propaganda-in-computer-prosecutor-idUSKBN0UGOED20160102>.

⁹² Jesse Byrnes, "Police: Philadelphia Officer Shot by Man Inspired by ISIS," *The Hill*, January 8, 2016, <http://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/265230-police-philadelphia-officer-shot-by-man-inspired-by-isis>.

⁹³ "Teenager with Machete Attacks Jewish Teacher in Marseille," *The Guardian*, January 11, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/11/teenager-machete-attacks-jewish-teacher-marseille>.

⁹⁴ "Cops Kill Man after Machete Attack at Ohio Deli," *CBS News*, February 12, 2016, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/machete-attack-nazareth-restaurant-columbus-ohio-stabbing/>.

⁹⁵ Josh Halliday, "Former Manchester United Steward Jailed for Life for Imam Murder," *The Guardian*, September 16, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/sep/16/former-manchester-united-steward-convicted-murder-imam-mohammed-syeedy>.

⁹⁶ Lizzie Dearden, "Teenage Girl Jailed for Stabbing Police Officer in Germany's First Isis-Commissioned Attack," *The Independent*, January 28, 2017, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-terror-attack-isis-islamic-state-hanover-train-station-police-officer-safia-s-15-teenage-a7551116.html>.

⁹⁷ "Brussels Explosions: What We Know about Airport and Metro Attacks," *BBC News*, April 9, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35869985>.

⁹⁸ "German Teens Sentenced for Sikh Temple Bombing in Essen," *Deutsche Welle*, March 21, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/german-teens-sentenced-for-sikh-temple-bombing-in-essen/a-38043937>.

⁹⁹ Dave Couvertier, "Investigative Update Regarding Pulse Nightclub Shooting" (Tampa: FBI, June 20, 2016), <https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/tampa/news/press-releases/investigative-update-regarding-pulse-nightclub-shooting>.

¹⁰⁰ Tim Hume, Lindsay Isaac, and Paul Cruickshank, "French Terror Attacker Threatened Euro 2016 in Facebook Video, Source Says," *BBC News*, June 14, 2016, <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/06/14/europe/french-policeman-terror-attack/index.html>.

¹⁰¹ "French Jihadist Police Killer 'Obeyed Islamic State Call,'" *BBC News*, June 14, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36530710>.

14-7-2016	Nice	Suicidal	Attack in the presence of armed security forces ¹⁰²	Yes	No
18-7-2016	Würzburg (Ger)	Suicidal	Perpetrator expressed desire to die ¹⁰³	Yes	No
24-7-2016	Ansbach	Suicide	Suicide bombing ¹⁰⁴	Yes	Yes
26-7-2016	St. Etienne du Rouvray (Fra)	Self-preserving	Escape, perpetrators used hostages as human shield ¹⁰⁵	No	No
6-8-2016	Charleroi (Bel)	Suicidal	Perpetrator attacked armed police ¹⁰⁶	Yes	No
17-9-2016	New York and Seaside Park	Self-preserving	Hidden explosives ¹⁰⁷	Yes	Yes
27-9-2016	St. Cloud (US)	Self-preserving	Escape ¹⁰⁸	Yes	No
28-11-2016	Columbus (US)	Self-preserving	Escape ¹⁰⁹	Yes	No
19-12-2016	Berlin	Self-preserving	Escape ¹¹⁰	Yes	No
18-3-2017	Paris	Suicidal	Perpetrator expressed desire to die ¹¹¹	Yes	No

¹⁰² Andrew Higgins, "France Agonizes over Whether Truck Rampage Could Have Been Stopped," *The New York Times*, July 16, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/17/world/europe/france-nice-truck-attack.html?mcubz=1>.

¹⁰³ Wright, "German Train Attack: Riaz Khan Ahmadzai Left Letter Saying Muslims 'Must Defend Themselves.'"

¹⁰⁴ Pleitgen, Hume, and McKirdy, "Suicide Bomber in Germany Pledged Allegiance to ISIS Leader."

¹⁰⁵ Toby Meyjes, "Video Shows Moment Priest Killers Were Shot Dead by Armed Police," *Metro*, July 27, 2016, <http://metro.co.uk/2016/07/27/video-shows-moment-priest-killers-were-shot-dead-by-armed-police-6033292/>.

¹⁰⁶ Laurence Norman, "Belgium Launches Terror Probe as ISIS Claims Machete Attack," *Wall Street Journal*, August 7, 2016, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/belgium-launches-terror-investigation-into-charleroi-machete-attack-1470570832>.

¹⁰⁷ Marc Santora and Adam Goldman, "Ahmed Khan Rahami Was Inspired by Bin Laden, Prosecutors Say," *The New York Times*, September 21, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/21/nyregion/ahmad-khan-rahmi-suspect.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Janelle P. Kendall, "RE: Jason Frederick Falconer," October 6, 2016, <https://www.scribd.com/document/326680623/Stearns-County-Attorney-s-Letter-on-Justified-Use-of-Deadly-Force-by-Off-Duty-Officer>.

¹⁰⁹ Megan Cerullo, "Ohio State University Attacker Denounced 'moderate' Muslims," *New York Daily News*, June 1, 2017, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/ohio-state-university-attacker-denounced-moderate-muslims-article-1.3213337>.

¹¹⁰ Kritsanarat Khunkham, "Mutiger Zeuge Führt Die Polizei Zum Verdächtigen," *Die Welt*, December 20, 2016, <https://www.welt.de/vermischtes/article160454887/Mutiger-Zeuge-fuehrt-die-Polizei-zum-Verdaechtigen.html>.

¹¹¹ Zoe Catchpole and Damien Pearse, "Paris Airport Attacker Shouted: 'I'm Here to Die for Allah - There Will Be Deaths'," *Sky News*, March 17, 2017, <http://news.sky.com/story/terror-watchlist-suspect-shoots-police-officer-before-launching-paris-airport-attack-10805781>.

22-3-2017	London	Suicidal	Perpetrator attacked armed police ¹¹²	Yes	No
7-4-2017	Stockholm	Self-preserving	Escape ¹¹³	Yes	No
20-4-2017	Paris	Self-preserving	Escape ¹¹⁴	Yes	No
22-5-2017	Manchester	Suicide	Suicide bombing ¹¹⁵	Yes	Yes
23-6-2017	London	Suicidal	Attack in heavily guarded area ¹¹⁶	No	No
6-6-2017	Paris	Suicidal	Perpetrator attacked armed police ¹¹⁷	Yes	No
19-6-2017	Paris	Suicide	Vehicle ramming with explosives ¹¹⁸	Yes	Yes
20-6-2017	Brussels	Suicidal	Perpetrator attacked armed police	Yes	Yes
28-7-2017	Hamburg	Self-preserving	Escape ¹¹⁹	Yes	No
9-8-2017	Paris	Self-preserving	Escape ¹²⁰	Yes	No
17-8-2017	Barcelona	Self-preserving	Escape ¹²¹	Yes	No
18-8-2017	Cambrils	Suicidal	Perpetrators attacked armed police ¹²²	No	No

¹¹² Emiliy Allen and Barney Henderson, "Westminster Attack: Everything We Know so Far about the Events in London," *The Telegraph*, September 23, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/03/22/westminster-terror-attack-everything-know-far/>.

¹¹³ "Stockholm Suspect, IS Sympathiser Who 'Partied and Drank': Media," *AFP*, April 10, 2017, <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/stockholm-suspect-is-sympathiser-who-partied-and-drank-media/ar-BBzCEtt>.

¹¹⁴ Angelique Chrisafis and David Smith, "French Police Officer Killed in Shooting on Champs Élysées," *The Guardian*, April 21, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/20/paris-shooting-policeman-killed-on-champs-elysees>.

¹¹⁵ "UK Police: 22 Confirmed Dead after Terror Incident at Ariana Grande Concert," *CBS News*, May 23, 2017, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/ariana-grande-concert-manchester-arena-explosion/>.

¹¹⁶ "Within Eight Minutes Suspects Were Dead: Timeline of the London Bridge Attack."

¹¹⁷ "Ce Que L'on Sait de L'agression À Notre-Dame de Paris," *Le Monde*, June 6, 2017, http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2017/06/06/les-forces-de-l-ordre-ont-neutralise-un-homme-ayant-agresse-un-policier-sur-le-parvis-de-notre-dame_5139598_3224.html.

¹¹⁸ "Champs-Élysées Attack Car 'Had Guns and Gas' - Paris Police," *BBC News*, June 17, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40332532>.

¹¹⁹ Chris Burns, "Hamburg Knife Attack Suspect Known as Islamist but Had No Terror Links," *CNN*, July 29, 2017, <http://edition.cnn.com/2017/07/29/europe/hamburg-supermarket-stabbing-suspect/index.html>.

¹²⁰ "Paris Attack: Man Held after Car Rams into Soldiers," *BBC News*, August 9, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40873801>.

¹²¹ "Barcelona and Cambrils Attacks: What We Know so Far," *BBC News*, August 27, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40964242>.

¹²² "Barcelona: Quiet Seaside Resort of Cambrils Emerges from a Terrifying Night," *AFP*, August 18, 2017, <http://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/barcelona-quiet-seaside-resort-of-cambrils-emerges-from-a-terrifying-night/story-Czih8Dc6DnvezZmtjZE0UI.html>.

18-8-2017	Turku	Self-preserving	Escape ¹²³	Yes	No
26-8-2017	London	Suicidal	Perpetrator expressed desire to die ¹²⁴	Yes	No
15-9-2017	London	Self-preserving	Hidden explosives	Unknown	Yes
1-10-2017	Edmonton	Self-preserving	Escape ¹²⁵	Yes	No
1-10-2017	Edmonton	Self-preserving	Escape ¹²⁶	Yes	No
1-10-2017	Marseille	Suicidal	Perpetrator attacked armed police ¹²⁷	Yes	No
1-11-2017	New York	Self-preserving	Escape ¹²⁸	Yes	No

¹²³ The perpetrator did seek martyrdom, but wanted to carry out more attacks first, one the day after the stabbing in Turku. This would mean he wanted to survive the stabbing in Turku. See "NBI: Turku Attack Suspect Had Two Alternative Targets," *Yle*, September 8, 2017, https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/nbi_turku_attack_suspect_had_two_alternative_targets/9822061.

¹²⁴ Jenny Gross and Stu Woo, "Buckingham Palace Terror Attack Suspect Got Lost En Route to Original Target," *Wall Street Journal*, September 1, 2017, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/buckingham-palace-terror-attack-suspect-got-lost-en-route-to-original-target-1504290028>.

¹²⁵ Catherine Griwkowsky, Jonny Wakefield, and Paige Parsons, "'Acts of Terrorism' in Edmonton: Officer Stabbed, Pedestrians Run down," *Edmonton Journal*, October 1, 2017, <http://edmontonjournal.com/news/crime/heavy-police-presence-near-commonwealth-stadium-officers-checking-vehicles>.

¹²⁶ Griwkowsky, Wakefield, and Parsons.

¹²⁷ David Chazan, "Man Shot Dead at Marseille Train Station after Killing Two Women in 'Terror' Attack," *The Telegraph*, October 1, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/10/01/man-shot-marseille-train-station-knife-attack/>.

¹²⁸ Keely Lockhart, "Chilling Footage Shows New York Attack Suspect Sayfullo Saipov Brandishing 'Weapon' before Arrest," *The Telegraph*, November 1, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/11/01/chilling-footage-shows-new-york-attack-suspectsayfullo-saipov/>.

About the Authors

Teun van Dongen

Teun van Dongen is an independent national and international security expert and a lecturer in Comprehensive Security at the Inholland University of Applied Sciences. Previously, he worked at The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS), a think tank in the Netherlands. During his period at HCSS, he has been seconded to the Dutch National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism. Teun van Dongen regularly writes for academic journals, newspapers and international affairs magazines. He holds a PhD degree from Leiden University, which he gained by writing a doctoral dissertation on counterterrorism effectiveness. Currently, he is using the insights he derived from his PhD-research to write a book about why people commit terrorist attacks.

About ICCT

The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (ICCT) is an independent think and do tank providing multidisciplinary policy advice and practical, solution-oriented implementation support on prevention and the rule of law, two vital pillars of effective counter-terrorism. ICCT's work focuses on themes at the intersection of countering violent extremism and criminal justice sector responses, as well as human rights-related aspects of counter-terrorism. The major project areas concern countering violent extremism, rule of law, foreign fighters, country and regional analysis, rehabilitation, civil society engagement and victims' voices. Functioning as a nucleus within the international counter-terrorism network, ICCT connects experts, policymakers, civil society actors and practitioners from different fields by providing a platform for productive collaboration, practical analysis, and exchange of experiences and expertise, with the ultimate aim of identifying innovative and comprehensive approaches to preventing and countering terrorism.

The Fate of the Perpetrator in the Jihadist Modus Operandi: Suicide Attacks and Non-Suicide Attacks in the West, 2004-2017

Teun van Dongen
December 2017

How to cite: Van Dongen, Teun. "The Fate of the Perpetrator in the Jihadist Modus Operandi: Suicide Attacks and Non-Suicide Attacks in the West, 2004-2017." The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - The Hague 8, no. 12 (2017).

About ICCT

The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (ICCT) is an independent think and do tank providing multidisciplinary policy advice and practical, solution-oriented implementation support on prevention and the rule of law, two vital pillars of effective counter-terrorism.

ICCT's work focuses on themes at the intersection of countering violent extremism and criminal justice sector responses, as well as human rights-related aspects of counter-terrorism. The major project areas concern countering violent extremism, rule of law, foreign fighters, country and regional analysis, rehabilitation, civil society engagement and victims' voices.

Functioning as a nucleus within the international counter-terrorism network, ICCT connects experts, policymakers, civil society actors and practitioners from different fields by providing a platform for productive collaboration, practical analysis, and exchange of experiences and expertise, with the ultimate aim of identifying innovative and comprehensive approaches to preventing and countering terrorism.